

The Quakers in New England

Richard Price
Hallowell



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QUAKERS IN NEW ENGLAND

AN ESSAY,

BY

RICHARD P. HALLOWELL.

(PUBLISHED BY REQUEST.)

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PREFACE.

This essay was printed in the July and September numbers of "Old and New," a deservedly popular magazine published at Boston. At the request of many friends I have consented to its publication in pamphlet form, and have added an Appendix containing some of the laws of the Puritans, and other matter not heretofore accessible to the general reader.

West Medford, Mass., Sept. 11th, 1870.

THE QUAKERS IN NEW ENGLAND.

Our historians agree substantially in their version of the conduct of our Puritan legislators and the Quakers. A comparison of the conduct of the Puritans is nowhere attempted; substituted for defence, and palliation for acquittal, and forced by a vigorous denunciation of the Quakers.

One of treatment is well illustrated in an exhaustive lecture given, delivered last winter by Dr. Geo. E. Ellis, and published by the Massachusetts Historical Society.* Dr. Ellis shows more knowledge and a greater show of fairness than other writers on the Quakers almost extravagantly, when he deals separately, or without regard to their special relations to the colony. He thinks "they were the advanced liberty which is now our life;" that they were "not really inspired," to come here, by a "high and pure" "without doubt much of their terrible abusiveness of wholly free from malice and any ill intention, but was wholly from an honest and severely righteous sense of the superstitions which they assailed." Here we have the honest historian; but, unfortunately, he deems it incumbent to relieve the burden of wanton and ruthless cruelty cast upon the Quakers; and straightway the Quaker pleader for liberty comes in, and adds to the Quaker's plea for liberty with other people's consciences, and his high voice degenerates into an "aimless spirit of annoyance." The lecture is an able exposition of the positions commonly held by the champions of the Puritans; and I cannot do better than state for me such of them as I shall attempt to show with the plain facts of history. He says, "Our little, if at all, for the Quaker theology. They did not hesitate in dealing with them. Our fathers dealt with them

Massachusetts and its Early History, pp. 77-126.

on the score of their manners, their lawlessness, and their offensive speech and behavior."

Now, it is true, that what is called the offensive speech and behavior of the Quakers was a feature of the contest; but I believe I can show that the Quaker theology is precisely that which the Government of New England most violently opposed; and that their fear of it was the primary cause of the dreadful persecution which followed the advent of the Quakers.

Before the first Quaker set foot upon Massachusetts soil, a Fast Day had been appointed by the Court, "to seek the face of God in behalf of our native country, in reference to the abounding of errors, especially those of Ranters and Quakers."*

A few weeks later, a vessel arrived in Boston harbor, bringing Ann Austin and Mary Fisher, the first Quakers who came to Massachusetts. They were at once conveyed from the vessel to the jail, where they were detained in close confinement until they could be sent away. Their books were confiscated and burned. This event occurred in the early part of the year 1656.

Hardly were these women banished, before another vessel arrived with eight Quakers on board. Guiltless of crime or offence, these people were arrested and thrown into jail; and, while they were there, a law was enacted (Oct. 14, 1656) with a view of meeting their case. This law was passed before the Quakers had an opportunity to manifest their "lawlessness," and practically before a single one of them appeared in the Puritan community.

The terms of this and every succeeding statute touching the subject clearly indicate that they were inspired by a dread of the Quaker heresies. They speak of the "cursed heretics," their "blasphemous opinions," their denial of "all established forms of worship," and their withdrawal from "church assemblies, allowed and approved by all Orthodox professors."†

A petition signed by some of the citizens of Boston, calling for additional legislation against the Quakers, complains of "their denial of the Trinity, . . . of the person of Christ, . . . of the Scriptures as a rule of life."‡

* Massachusetts Records, vol. iv, p. 270.

† See Appendix.

‡ Miscel. Papers in the State House, Boston.

At a later date, Cotton Mather, in his apology for these inhuman laws, truthfully reveals their inspiration. He enumerates the offences of the Quakers, such as "denying the Scriptures, ... disbelieving the doctrine of the Trinity, ... rejecting the second coming of Christ in person, ... rejecting ordinances, such as baptism, and bread and wine, ... asserting that every day is the Lord's day, and advocating silent prayer." He says, "In Quakerism, the sink of all heresies, we see the vomit cast out in the by-past ages by whole kennels of seducers, licked up again for a new digestion."*

In 1658, John Norton was appointed by the Court to write a treatise against the doctrines of Quakers, and received a grant of land in remuneration.

The Court at Plymouth went so far as to authorize four men to attend Quaker meetings, "to endeavor to reduce them from the error of their ways."† Public debates were arranged for the purpose; and it is worthy of especial note, that some of the champions thus commissioned were not only out-argued, but, to the infinite horror of their friends, were converted to Quakerism, and joined these persecuted people.‡

Of all the popular notions regarding the Puritans, none are less warranted by history than that which credits them with a love or regard for religious liberty. Whatever their virtues in other directions, in matters of religion they were dogmatic, bigoted, and intolerant. Their fanaticism was unbounded; and, in opposition to the prevalent theory, that Puritan fanaticism, as manifested in the persecution of the Quakers, was developed by Quaker extravagances, I think it can be shown that Quaker fanaticism was largely due to Puritan persecution. The laws already mentioned are evidence of the correctness of this view; and an investigation into the causes of the arrests and trials of the Quakers will confirm it. If they were arrested as "intrusive, pestering, indecent, and railing disturbers," to quote Dr. Ellis, the records will prove it.

What do they prove? I have already shown that they were imprisoned upon arrival, and that the first law against them was enacted while they were illegally confined, and before they had committed

* Could the Quaker "abusiveness of language" exceed this?

† Baylie's Mem. Plym. Col., p. 40.

‡ Salvi's Hist. of America, vol. ii, p. 135.

any offence whatever. As soon as they arrived, they were maltreated, and others followed only to receive still harsher treatment. They were goaded on to acts of defiance, and some of them were frenzied by the horrible and inhuman torture inflicted upon them. Women were tied to carts, and publicly whipped; the bodies of men were mutilated; they were robbed of their possessions, their meetings were dispersed, and they were hunted down as wild beasts. Hatred and fear of Quakerism not only inspired the laws, but prompted these atrocious deeds of the Puritans.

In the Plymouth-Colony Records, we read that a certain Quaker was "found to be a man of turbulent spirit, and forward to abuse men with his tongue." He was publicly whipped. Two women suffered the same punishment "for disturbances made by them in the public worship of God on the Lord's Day at Sandwich, by opposing and abusing the speaker amongst them." These cases are, however, comparatively rare; and it is more common to find that men and women were punished for attending Quaker meetings, for non-attendance at the Orthodox Church, for going from one place to another contrary to law, for being guilty of "divers horrid errors," for harboring Quakers, for confessing themselves to be Quakers, for denouncing the popular theology, for refusing to take the oath, for returning to the colony after banishment.

At one sitting, the Court fined eight of them for refusing to take the oath, which, we must remember, was proposed to them for the purpose of imposing the fine. At this sitting, twenty-four were fined for attending a Quaker meeting. At another time, seven Quakers were charged with "tumultuous carriage" at a meeting; and, being acquitted, the Court fined them forty shillings apiece for not removing their hats.

While examining the unpublished manuscript on file at the State House, I was attracted by some hieroglyphics indexed, "Minutes of the Magistrates," and headed, "The Exam. of Quakers at y^e Court of Assistant's in Boston."

These minutes refer almost exclusively to the religious or theological opinions entertained and expressed by the prisoners; and in no single instance is it stated or implied that an arrest was made for any other cause. I reproduce them as evidence of the character of the charges brought against the Quakers, and of the offences for which they were arrested and punished.

Joseph Nicholson sayth y^e law ag^t Quakers is a wicked law, & not of God.

His wife denies y^e law as not of God.

W. Christophson sayth as a witness for God & his law he stands ag^t you & yo^r law, & y^t y^e law ag^t y^e quakers is ag^t y^e law of God and is a corrupt law neither pure nor holy, seeking for blood; & Christ fulfilled y^e law w^{ch} appoint murderers to be put to death.

Sayth he saw y^e law before he came at M, & he came for a testimony ag^t this cruelty; & the God of order y^t know not. In y^e name & feare of God I am come.

J. N. sayth y^e God y^t made *Heaven & Earth* is not yo^r God.

W. C. sayth the true God y^t made heaven & earth we *know & owne*.

Math. Stanly sayth she bears witness ag^t y^e law, for X^t came not to kill but to save.

Win. King sayth he is warned of God not to goe, & y^t he will stay, tho banished.

W. Christoph. sayth that he owned y^e scripture to be a true declaration, but not y^e mind of God, & sayth that we know not y^e word of God, & y^t not one man here can prove y^e scripture to be y^e word of God. Sayth they are y^e words of God, but not y^e word; he sayth w^t he sayth is truth according to Scripture, & y^t he stands here a witness for God.

Margarett Smith sayth she denies y^e law, & stands as a *witness* ag^t y^e same.

Benj. Bulflower sayeth he hath fulfilled y^e law of God, & *done* all y^t it requires.

Nich. Jn^o Endecutt. I stand as an evidence ag^t y^e thou knowest not y^e pow^r of God, & y^t w^{ch} thou callest heresie in me shall stand for ev. higher than thee, although as high as y^e Pope.

The exam. of Quakers at y^e Court of Assistants in Boston.

Joseph Nicholson, Jane his wife, and Wainslocke Christophersonne.

Christopher sayth he owns y^e Scripture to be a true declaration of X^t & be true words; he saith y^e mind of God man must know as they did w^{ch} gave forth y^e Scriptures; X^t is y^e rule for evrie one to walk by.

X^t is y^e word.

the letter kills; y^e Spirit giveth life.

I have not put y^e Scripture in y^e roome of X^t.

Nichols to y^e Gov^r: thou errest, not knowing y^e Scripture nor y^e pow^r of God, thou art not come to y^e w^{ch} gave forth y^e Scriptures. God heareth us, all th. is but jangling.

Christ. X^t sayth sweare not at all, love y^e enemies, f^r he y^e swears is out of y^e Doctrine of X^t.

Nicholson. you er from y^e Scripture in keeping y^e 1st day instead of y^e Sabbath. Wee owne ministers of y^e word, but not of y^e letter. they y^e take titles were nev^r sent of God.

that X^t in whom I believe is a Spirit. a savior to y^e M^{aj}or Denis: thou nev^r heardest by voice. hearken to y^e voyce of X^t w^{thin}.

y^e will shew the thy sins.

Christoph. he hath a body. one body, & one spiritt. & no other but w^h is meant in y^e place Preaching. reading. singing. done by y^e Spirit of y^e Lord we owne. All other is an abominacon.

Christoph. in obedience to y^e Lord we come hither.

Nicholson. Wee owne quakering to be of God, and wee owne quakers whom you so call to be children of God & to be of y^m they call quakers.

Christopher & Jane also answered Each of y^m for thems. that they were of them they called Quakers.

The Jury was called over to y^m all, & libty given to y^m all to challenge any of y^m off y^e Bench.

Major Hawthorne at Dinn^r wth y^e Gov^r & maiestrates at a court of assistants, said that at Salem y^r was a woman called Consader Southieck, y^e said shee was greater y^m Moses, for Moses had seen God but twice & his backe parts, & shee had seen him 3 times face to face, instancing the place (i. e.) her old House one time, & by such a swamp another time.

Also he said a woman of Lin being at y^e meeting wth W^m Robinson was y^r who pressed much y^e seeking for y^e pow^r w^{thin}. shee asked him How shee should come to feele y^e pow^r w^{thin}. He told her y^e shee must cast of all attendance to ordinances, as publike p^rching, pray^r, reading y^e Scripture, & attending to times of Gods wor^{sh}, and then wayte for the communicaccon of y^e pow^r w^{thin}.

and He added y^e Hee y^e will do so, it will not be long, but y^e Devill will appeare, either more explicitely, or at least implicitely to comuncate hims—

Chamblaine. sayth y^t he find not y^e opinion of y^e Quakers to be cursed, but y^t w^{ch} shall stand when all yo^m shall fall.

W^m King sayth he own y^e Scripture to be a true declaraccon of y^e word of God.

Mary Trask. & Smith & Martha Stanly. in a contemptuous & seditious mann. began & continued to speak. to y^e disturbance of Court. so y^t y^e Court was forced to charge y^e Jailor to cary y^m out of y^e Court.

W^m King sayth I am sure God doth & will *plead o^r cause.*

from Redding.

Benj. Bulflower came into Court wth his hat cockt: remaineing on his head. & refusing to pull it of w^{ch} comanded. & said he could justifie his acccon by y^e Scripture. Alleading for his prooffe y^e Scripture. y^t God threatned his people y^t for y^e sin he would bring a nation ag^t y^m y^t would not Hon^r y^e person of y^e old man.

being examined in Court,

Asserted. y^t after y^e Dissoluccon of y^e Body & soule. y^e body should nev be united to y^e soule more. y^t y^e first day of y^e weeke was not y^e sabboath but y^e last day of ye weeke. y^e 7th day.

Martha Stanly. late of tenterdon in Kent. & a single woman.

Saith she had a message from y^e Lord. to vissitt her freinds in prison at Boston. her message was to turn people from darknes to light to y^e virtues w^{thin}: in her measure she hath spoaken y^e same. & shall go on to y^e laying down her life.

Saith wee meet wth many y^t tell us we must sin whiles we live.

as any keep to y^e light made manifest in conscience they sin not.

Sayth I acknowledge my selfs to be one of y^m whom y^e world in scorne call quakers.

Jn^o Chamblaine of Boston came into Court wth his Hatt on.

ffrom Salem.

W^m King wth his Hatt on & Mary Trask & Mary Smith came into Court.

owned y^t they were at a meeting at Whartons on y^e Sabboath day. & y^t they were such as y^e world called Quakers. this all of y^m pticularly owned.

W^m King sayth Wharton was not at home w^{ch} they were there—and I am sure We have obeyed y^e voyce of God in w^{ch} we have done & God sayth wo. be to y^m pastors y^t destroy y^e flock of Xⁱ.

After persecution of the Quakers for their *religion* ceased, we search the records in vain for instances of arrest or imprisonment. When they were treated as human beings, when their rights were recognized, they were esteemed good citizens, and were respected for their piety and integrity.

The fanaticism of New England Quakers has been so long taken for granted, that a mere reference to these people is suggestive of violence, indecency, and rant; but that it is over-estimated and exaggerated is evident from all the reliable information we have upon the subject. The custom is to judge the entire body of Quakers by the action of a few exceptional cases; and we are gravely asked to believe that Mary Dyer was hung in Boston because Lydia Wardwell appeared in the town of Newbury without her garments. The fact that this event occurred *after* the execution of Mary Dyer is of trifling importance to the zealous defenders of the Founders.

In the jail, at the whipping-post, and on the scaffold, these heroic people displayed a fortitude worthy the cause for which they suffered,—the cause of religious liberty. Their lives were pure and spotless: no one has yet been able to stain their memory with dishonesty, or immorality of any kind. Strong in the faith that they were doing God service in struggling for their rights, they would have been less than human had they not uttered their righteous indignation, and denounced their persecutors.

To us the act of Lydia Wardwell is evidence of insanity. She was a modest woman, and, strange as it appears, performed the act complained of under a sense of religious duty. She meant it for a "sign" unto those who had stripped women to whip them. The authorities had caused women to be driven through the streets, bared to their waists, and to be flogged as they dragged themselves along. They had ordered Ann Austin and Mary Fisher to be stripped naked, and examined for witch-marks. Lydia Wardwell's act was one of highly-wrought, shocking fanaticism. Was the act of the Founders mere "comedy,"* as it has been called? or was it a deed of wretched fanaticism, more to be censured than its counterpart, because cruel and diabolical?

In extravagance of language the Puritans at least rivalled their victims: in fanaticism of action the difference is more apparent; for,

* Ellis.

while the intensity of feeling may have been equal, in the one case it was signalized by acts of cruelty, and in the other by lofty indifference and a sublime heroism.

During her imprisonment, Mary Dyer addressed a letter to the "General Court at Boston," of which the following is an extract. I offer it as a fitting illustration of the temper and spirit in which the Quakers confronted their persecutors:—

"And have you no other weapons to fight with against spiritual wickedness, as you call it? Search with the light of Christ in you, and it will show you of whom you take counsel. . . . It is not my own life I seek, but the life of the seed which I know the Lord hath blessed. And I know this: that, if you confirm your law, the Lord will overthrow both your law and you, by his righteous judgments and plagues poured justly upon you. In love, and in the spirit of meekness, I again beseech you, for I have no enmity to the persons of any; but you shall know that God will not be mocked."

In studying the history of a people or a sect, if we aim at an impartial estimate of their character and their value to posterity, we must regard them from their own point of view, test them in the light of their own generation, and judge them by the requirements of our present civilization.

The sincerity of both the Founders and the Quakers I think has never been seriously questioned. The Founders scouted the possibility of Divine revelation beyond the limits of the Bible. Their Christianity was Judaism full blown. Believing implicitly in a theocracy, they attempted to administer a civil government by statutes derived mainly from the Old Testament. The Quakers, with courageous fidelity, asserted that the soul of man is still accessible to God, and claimed religious liberty to be the natural right of all men. A conflict between these radically different ideas was inevitable. The Puritans invited the conflict. They were the aggressors. As early as 1654 they challenged the Quakers by enacting a law forbidding the importation of their books. Again, in 1656, they threw down the gauntlet by prohibiting the intrusion of a Quaker upon their soil. I shall not stop to examine the value of their claim to absolute jurisdiction, and, as a consequence, to the right to enact this prohibitory law. We are examining the case from the respective standpoints of the contending parties; and it is sufficient to know that they sincerely claimed such right. It is sufficient, also, to know that the Quakers as sincerely denied it. They had "heard that New England had made a law to put the servants of the living God to death;" and,

braving the perils of the sea, they sought out this land, where religious liberty was crucified, where the "servants of the Lord" were forbidden to serve him. It was a divine mission that brought them here. We are told "they had no rights or business here; and a simple prohibition ought to have been sufficient even to release their consciences from all obligation to meddle with other people's consciences."* A simple prohibition, a significant hint from the pews, may satisfy the consciences of a "hireling ministry," of men who deal in the gospel as a profession, receiving as their reward the money-value of their speech; but for "the servants of the living God" prohibitions, threats, and persecution had no terrors; their answer was the answer ever given by ministers ordained of Heaven: "Whether it be right in the sight of God to hearken unto you more than unto God, judge ye." It is asserted, too, that they courted persecution. Yes, as their Master Jesus Christ before them; as the thousands and tens of thousands of victims to religious despotism who preceded them; as, in our own day, Elijah P. Lovejoy, Garrison, Wendell Philips, and that grand old Puritan John Brown,—as these soldiers in the army of the Lord courted persecution, so did the New-England Quakers. Under the law of England, as English subjects, they claimed the right to come here; and under that Higher Law which bade them call the world their country, and all mankind their countrymen, they claimed the right to live in old England or in New England, as they saw fit. Their business here was "to meddle with other people's consciences." They took up the gauntlet of the Puritan, and accepted his challenge. Equal to their enemy in sincerity, in integrity of purpose, in devotion to their idea, they possessed the advantage of being in the right. They resolved to establish in Massachusetts the right of every man to worship God, not according to old John Norton's conscience, but each according to the dictates of his own conscience.

Without organization, without any especial co-operation, rejecting the use of carnal weapons, and "relying solely upon those which are spiritual and mighty through God, to the pulling down of strongholds," they attacked the Puritan Bastile. There could be but one issue to such a contest. The Quakers triumphed, and despotism was vanquished.

The methods of the two people were in as marked contrast as their

* Ellis.

opinions. An illustration will suffice to indicate the difference. The Puritans attempted to civilize and to convert the Indians. As one measure to this end, they provided by law, that "if any woman shall wear her hair cut like a man's, or hanging loose, she shall pay five shillings. All men who wear long locks shall be fined the same sum."* For a considerable length of time after he became a Quaker, William Penn continued to wear his sword. Experiencing a feeling of uneasiness about it, he consulted George Fox. Fox said, "Friend William, wear it as long as thou canst." Subsequently they met again; and Fox, perceiving that Penn had no sword, said to him, "William, where is thy sword?"—"Oh!" said he, "I have taken thy advice. I wore it as long as I could." The Puritan's was the method of coercion, the Quaker's the method of conviction.

As I have before observed, the New-England Quakers and the Founders were justified in their relations to and treatment of each other from their respective stand-points; for they were faithful to their highest idea: but, judged by the light of their generation, it is not so easy to justify the Founders. The theory that the public sentiment of their day was undivided is hardly sustained by history.

The contest over the law banishing Quakers under pain of death was sharp and severe. The law was passed by a majority of one vote only. On one occasion, public indignation at the barbarous treatment of William Brend was so great, that, to prevent a tumult, the authorities caused a report to be circulated that the jailer should be dealt with at the next court. It is worthy of note, that John Norton, the champion of the Puritan religion, voluntarily defended this inhuman jailer. When William Robinson and Marmaduke Stevenson were executed, they were guarded by Capt. Oliver with a company of soldiers "completely armed." Thirty-six soldiers were posted as sentinels about the town, "to preserve the peace." The selectmen of Boston were "required and empowered to presse ten or twelve able and faithfull persons every night during the sitting of this Court, to watch with great care the town, especially the prison." Mr. Ellis, commenting upon this event, says they were "well aware that a protesting and indignant spirit, widely working among the citizens, was ready to manifest itself in a threatening way." To pacify the people, two declarations were drawn up and published, defending the acts of

* Wynne's History of America, p. 76.

the judges against the "clamorous accusation of severity," and arguing the justice of their extreme proceedings.*

As early as 1635, Roger Williams, then an elder of the church at Salem, was driven out of the colony, because he "broached and divulged divers new and dangerous opinions against the authority of the magistrates," and "writ letters of defamation both of the magistrates and churches." He was warmly endorsed by a large number of adherents. For putting him into office in violation of the decree of the magistrates, the Salem Church was denied a grant of land from that town.

The Antinomian controversy, led by Mrs. Ann Hutchinson, followed the exile of Williams, developing a strong diversity of sentiment. At one period, the Founders were fearful of losing their charter by the interference of the Privy Council Commission.†

In 1646, some of the people, by a "Remonstrance and Petition" to the "General Court, protested against being "compelled by fine to support and attend religious ministrations."

About the year 1653, Sir Richard Saltonstall, who came here with Winthrop, but subsequently returned to England, addressed to his old associates a letter of "sharp rebuke," deprecating their "tyranny and persecution," and imploring them "not to practice those courses in a wilderness which you went so far to prevent."‡

In 1657, the Commissioners of the United Colonies of New England (Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven) addressed the governor of Rhode Island, remonstrating against the permission granted to Quakers to remain in that colony. The governor laid the communication before the "Court of Trials;" and that body, "acting in unison with the law of their colony," that "none be accounted a delinquent for doctrine," resolved that no settler or stranger within the limits of their jurisdiction "should be persecuted for whatever opinions in religion he might either hold or teach."

This evidence that the intolerance and persecution of the Founders were widely condemned by the public sentiment of their day is decisive. They were behind their own age; they refused to read the signs of the times; and they set their faces like flint against the progressive spirit which everywhere inspired the people. Judged by the light of their own generation, they are condemned: and strange indeed would it be if it were otherwise; for, living in the seventeenth

* See Appendix. † Ellis. ‡ Hutchinson Papers, pp. 401-407.

century of the Christian era, they attempted to set up Moses as their lawgiver. Their creed was sternly Calvinistic and theologically Christian; but in their hearts they held themselves answerable to the old Hebrew law.

Judged by the same standard, the Quakers are not justified, only because they were in advance of their age. They represented the best developed form of the Christian religion known to that century.

We have now to apply the third test: How, in the light of our present civilization, do the Founders of Massachusetts and their Quaker victims stand? Our historians and essayists apologize for the Founders, but no one justifies them. Unfortunately, most writers have been inspired by the one desire to "relieve the burden of wanton and ruthless cruelty cast upon them," rather than to reveal the truth of history. Their crafts invariably go to pieces on Plymouth Rock. "We must get ourselves as far away as possible from the atmosphere of this liberal Boston," say Mr. Ellis and the rest, when we judge our Puritan Fathers; but we look in vain for this demand when the Quakers are called to judgment.

Two hundred years have passed away, and yet not one prominent descendant of the Puritans, Mr. Longfellow, perhaps, excepted, has had the courage to try his ancestors and their victims by the same law. Mr. Bancroft intended well; but either his courage failed, or his pride of ancestry was too strong for him.

In spite of the determination to whitewash the Founders, and to perpetuate their follies by abusing the Quakers, these writers are forced to record the fact, that their forefathers failed and the Quakers succeeded. Puritan despotism, at least in its grosser forms, is a thing of the past. Quaker freedom, liberty of conscience, the Quakerism of Massachusetts in 1660, is the accepted gospel of the old Bay State to-day. The theocracy of the Puritans—where is it? The democracy of the Quakers—where is it not? The stone which the Founders rejected has become the head of the corner.

We may boast of the honesty and devotion of the forefathers, and, glossing over their intolerance and fanaticism, point with just pride to their stern morality; but the *idea* for which they lived, and by which *they* asked to stand or fall, is repudiated by their children.

We may call the Quakers meddlers and intruders; we may give prominence to the acts of Lydia Wardwell and Deborah Wilson; we may laugh at the broken bottles of Thomas Newhouse, and sneer at

the sackcloth of Mary Brewster ; preferring to judge the little army of Quakers by these exceptional cases, and forgetting the purity of their lives, the sublime heroism of their devotion, we may curse them for a set of fanatics and madmen, but the truth remains, and will prevail: the Quakers were the pioneers of religious liberty ; *their* thought, the idea for which they lived and suffered and died, is the inspiration of our present civilization.

In making this attempt to indicate the true position of the Quakers in the early history of Massachusetts, I have anticipated the course of events. They came here in 1656, several years after the rise of Quakerism in England. To understand their character, it is quite necessary to revert to the founder of the society, George Fox. He was born in the year 1624, and died in 1690. Very early in life he discovered a serious disposition, amounting almost to moroseness : he was one of those unfortunate men who were never young. His boyhood was valuable to him only so far as it fitted him for manhood ; his manhood, only so far as it prepared him for another life. At the age of nineteen, and for three continuous years, he experienced a mental and spiritual conflict, which, from the intensity of its nature, would have driven a weaker man to insanity. The wickedness and folly of that age shocked and confounded him. To him, the pleasures of life, whether in or out of harmony with human nature, were so many vanities. Asceticism was his creed : he would be in the world, but not of it. Educated in the Orthodox school of theology, he accepted the doctrine of total depravity in all its hideousness, and with it the irresistible logic which demands a total repudiation of human nature. He separated himself from men ; walking through lonely fields, and creeping into hollow trees, he there sought to learn the divine will. At such times he made himself familiar with the Bible, accepting it as the only revealed word. He was a devout believer in the plenary inspiration of the Scriptures.

Resorting to men for advice and consolation, he was thrown into deeper gloom and despair. He visited the pastors of many churches, but found them all "miserable comforters." One who was reputed to be spiritually minded, was to him "like an empty, hollow cask." Resuming his life of solitude and meditation, he began to see that the paramount object of existence here is to get into a proper spiritual relation with the Creator ; and he saw that this is to be accomplished only by the subjugation of all but our spiritual faculties. He learned

that the law of God is written upon the hearts of men ; and that only by listening to the voice of God in his own soul could he interpret that law. His mission was now revealed to him. "I was commissioned," he says, "to turn people to that Inward Light,—even that Divine Spirit which would lead men to all truth." Thus Quakerism was born.

Jesus had in substance taught the same lesson. His followers, down to Fox, had made the fatal mistake of going to him—practically to him and the apostles alone—for spiritual guidance. Fox attempted to restore primitive Christianity by calling upon men, not to forsake Jesus, but to worship God.

This doctrine of the Inward Light was the corner-stone of Quakerism. It inflicted a mortal wound on priestcraft. If God dwells in the soul of man, he is a usurper who dares assume to be man's spiritual guide. A mere scholastic education cannot qualify men for the true ministry. As religion is from God, only such as are inspired by him can teach religion. Church tithes, an ordained and paid ministry, were abominations in the sight of Fox. He found the kingdom of heaven within him ; and it was heathenish idolatry to worship bricks and mortar by calling a church, or steeple-house as he termed it, the house of God.

As the Bible was written by inspiration it can be understood only by the aid of inspiration. The revealed word is in itself nothing ; it is a sealed book until we know it by revelation. "The letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life." As Jesus was the Son of God, he could only be known and taught by men who felt the spirit of Christ illuminating their souls and sanctifying their lives. Every word and deed of Jesus and the apostles must be spiritualised. Baptism, bread and wine, crucifixion, atonement, resurrection, were with Fox as signs only, and of themselves were neither necessary nor valuable ; they were meaningless, except as applied to the spirit, or soul of man. He declared all days, every hour, every moment of time, to be sacred, as all came from the same divine hand ; and, therefore, he denied the peculiar sanctity of the sabbath ascribed to it by the people.

Under God, Jesus was his friend and teacher ; and he had said, "Swear not at all:" therefore, Fox would go to the stake rather than take an oath. He rejected the use of carnal weapons, and denounced war as anti-Christ ; he advocated the utmost simplicity in dress and speech ; music and the fine arts were vanities. He dis-

couraged all amusements, as calculated to distract the mind, and lead it from the contemplation of our spiritual condition. The Inward Light vouchsafed to all men is a levelling doctrine; it places all upon an equality. The Quakers, therefore, refused all titles; nor would they remove the hat or bend the knee to any man, in token of respect. King, priest, and peasant were estimated at their value as men, and not by the position to which, by birth or accident, they were assigned.

Thus briefly I have named the cardinal principles and the more important features of early Quakerism. Fox appeared as a preacher in 1647. The age was ripe for his acceptance; the public mind, indeed, was eager to grasp at every suggestion appertaining to religion. Nevertheless, Fox was no fair-weather reformer. In calling upon men "to re-assume the ill-deputed care of their religion into their own hands again," he arrayed against himself, not only Court and Parliament, but Papist, Episcopalian, and Independent.

The people sought and followed him, and many hungry souls were satisfied. The Quakers increased rapidly in numbers and influence. With the zeal, and often with the fanaticism, so characteristic of the time, they plied their spiritual weapons against the prevailing dogmas and ceremonials; they denounced the licentiousness of the Court, and the extravagances of the Puritans. Other people were non-conformists; the Quakers were both non-conformists and revolutionists. For a full obedience to the inward light, absolute religious liberty was essential,—and to this idea they were faithful to the end. In the history of the world, the progress of freedom is tracked by the blood of martyrs. The Quakers suffered their full share of martyrdom; they encountered persecution in England, almost as severe and cruel as in Massachusetts. Several thousand of them were confined in the jails at one time. Fox especially suffered harsh treatment. A recital of their sufferings, however, is not necessary here. In contrast with the enlightened views entertained by the Quakers on most subjects, their superstition is most striking. It was, perhaps, no more characteristic of them than of others. Amongst the so-called evangelical societies of the present day, it is very prevalent, and is manifested in much the same form. Emancipated, as they were, from the dumb forms of the Church, they were not able to escape the blasting influence of a dark theology. They believed firmly in an avenging God; and, in violation of the law of love so prominent in

their lives, they ascribed to him such deeds as would earn the title of monster for any human being. The books of the Quakers are full of detailed accounts of disasters which befel their persecutors. Many of them would prophesy some great calamity, some visitation of the Lord, upon their enemies; and any misfortune that afterwards overtook these doomed persons was sure to be construed and recorded as a fulfilment of the Quaker prophecy. George Fox was reputed a great prophet, of the Cassandraic order; and the New England Quakers were singularly gifted. In his history of the Quakers, Mr. Janney, their historian of this generation, owing perhaps to his idolatry of the Fathers, perpetuates these accounts without a dissenting word, and almost with approval.

The organization of the society was commenced by Fox in 1667; not till twenty years after he began to preach. The name Quaker was applied to it in derision: Fox and his companions, assuming a name indicative of their character and mission, called themselves "Friends." The original object of the organization was, not to build up a sect, or to propagate a creed, but mainly to ameliorate the condition of the poor, and to aid those who were in prison. Beyond this, and the "promotion of purity and virtue," nothing was contemplated. No test of membership was required, except the habitual attendance at religious meetings. In the meetings for business, if a stranger appeared, and wished to participate, he was asked to produce a certificate of character from Friends in his own town. This, says Fox, "was to prevent any bad spirit, that may scandalize honest men, from bringing reproach upon them."

Their influence upon civilization must not be lightly estimated. By their sturdy opposition to ecclesiastical oppression they aided largely in lifting the dead weight of the Church from the necks of the people. They taught men to subordinate theological opinions, church government, and church ordinances, and to give heed to that higher law, by obedience to which we can alone hope to establish a true and permanent religion. Men began to understand that rights, not privileges, must be demanded, in order to secure religious and civil liberty. Legislation in England, from that day to this, has been steadily modified to correspond with Quaker views, suggestions, and demands. They, indeed, so largely anticipated our present civilization, that it is frequently urged that the decline of the society is due to the all but universal acceptance and adoption of their theories and principles.

England learned her first lesson in democracy under the tuition of the Quakers.

The early settlement of Pennsylvania is without a parallel in the history of nations. In that State, Quakerism performed its work, unimpeded by persecution; and, in a few years from the meeting of its first legislature, or colonial parliament, it had outstripped all other American colonies in natural prosperity and growth. In Massachusetts, the Quakers had to contend with the intelligence, the culture, the piety, of the Founders. Four of them were hung; all of them were persecuted, and denounced as children of Satan.

In Pennsylvania they met the North American Indians, men we are accustomed to call savages; and by these they were recognized as children of the Great Spirit. William Penn with his Quakerism overcame the tomahawk and scalping-knife of the red man, and, in the forests of the New World, not only laid the foundation, but established a republic. The history of his "Holy Experiment" is known to every school-boy; and, to vindicate the claim for Quakerism as a great civilizing force, we have only to refer to it.

I have alluded to the decline of Quakerism, and to the reason therefor so frequently given by the Friends themselves. It is very true that the principles of the early Quakers are now a part of our civilization; but it is a curious logic which leads to the conclusion that this is any justification of the stand-still, do-nothing policy of the modern Friends. Quite recently, a spirit of progress has been developed, which promises prolonged life to the society; but, until within a very few years, stagnation was the notable characteristic.

The Quaker garb and directness of speech, once grand protests against extravagance in dress and the flattery bestowed upon wealth and rank, lost their original significance; and the broad-brimmed hat, the peculiar bonnet, the thou and thee, became the sectarian badge, and too often indicated the bigotry of the children in their worship of the fathers. In many Quaker schools and colleges, the students were compelled to adopt the distinctive dress, and the ancient testimonies against literary and æsthetic culture were rigidly enforced. During the three years spent at an Orthodox Quaker college, we were not allowed to see a volume of Shakspeare, and while there I read "Uncle Tom's Cabin" by stealth. Music was strictly prohibited, and the fine arts were absolutely ignored. A regular attendant at Friends' meetings must have heard many sermons, within the last twenty years, against the vanity of much learning.

The failure to progress necessarily involves retrogression ; and the degeneracy of the society was strikingly illustrated by its treatment of the abolitionists, during the long years of moral warfare which preceded the downfall of the Southern oligarchy. When the contest began, the society found itself in advance of most, if not all, religious sects in its traditional testimony against slavery. By the "rules of discipline," members could not hold slaves, nor could they employ slave-labor. The system had always found its most active antagonist in the Quaker Church. By birthright, the modern Quaker was an abolitionist, and hence the responsibility of the society was greater than that of other religious bodies. History will reveal to posterity the sad fact, that the Friends of this country were false to their traditions, false to the spirit of their discipline, and altogether unworthy their inheritance.

I do not forget the exceptional men and women who labored in the good cause ; and I know, that, by their efforts, the society was, in a measure, rescued from the utter demoralization which overwhelmed the Christian churches of America. In some localities, these Friends were occasionally able to secure from their respective meetings a renewal of the ancient testimony, in the form of a memorial to Congress or to some State legislature. I remember, too, that the ranks of the abolitionists were largely recruited, in some places, from the younger members of the society ; but they were, comparatively speaking, without influence in the organization, and not a few of them left their meetings, disheartened by the course of the more "weighty" and influential members. As a rule, the moral weight of both branches of the society—Orthodox and Hicksite—was against the abolitionists and the anti-slavery movement. The subject was studiously avoided in the "meetings for worship," being classed with those questions which are regarded as beyond the pale of religion. The abolitionists were regarded and treated as disturbers of the peace. In some instances, they were pursued with bitter hostility, and even with malignity. The venerable Lucretia Mott, who led the forlorn-hope of the society, was persistently persecuted and tabooed. One Quaker physician actually refused to prescribe for her when she was ill, he was so incensed by her abolition heresy. More fortunate than some of her coadjutors, she escaped disownment ; but the fact that she "ESCAPED" is mournfully significant. Isaac T. Hopper was "dealt" with for his connection with "The Anti-Slavery Standard." His case

was duly considered by his own meeting, and he was expelled. He appealed successively to the meetings higher in authority, and each one of them sustained the action of the other. The various branches of the New York Hicksite meeting, assembled as one body in their corporate capacity, confirmed his expulsion. The rise of the branch of the society known as Progressive Friends was the result of the hostile attitude of the Hicksite Quakers towards the anti-slavery movement.

The language of a prominent New England Orthodox Quaker, fitly represents the position of that portion of the society. She said to me, "The Lord will settle this question of slavery in his own good time, and we must not interfere with it."* Quakerism was a grand protest against slavery; but modern Quakers preferred peace to purity, organization to justice. Sectarianism had done its work; and, practically repudiating its principles, the society floated with the popular current.

But I gladly forego further consideration of the short-comings of the society, to pay a tribute to its solid worth. If the Friends idolize their ancestors, so do the descendants of the Puritans; if they are superstitious, they are no more so than a majority of sects; if they were pro-slavery, they were less so than most religious denominations. The Quaker coat, it is presumed, covers a multitude of virtues. It is *prima facie* evidence of the honesty of the man who wears it. Our poor-houses, our criminal courts, our rum-shops, our gambling hells, whether in North Street or State Street, would find their occupation gone, if they relied upon Friends to furnish them with inmates or criminals or victims. The private virtues, the simplicity and purity, the uprightness and integrity, of the modern Quakers, command the honor and respect of every community in which they live, and challenge the admiration of society.

The failure of Quakerism, so far as it is a failure, is due, no doubt, in a degree, to the development of sectarianism; but we must go behind this to seek for the main cause. It must, it seems to me, be attributed to the non-aggressive character of the society; and this, in turn, is probably due to the limited interpretation of the Inward Light, insisted upon by Friends. They must be "moved by the

The Orthodox Quakers of New York were more faithful to their anti-slavery testimonies than Friends of other meetings included in this branch of the Society.

Spirit" to speak or to act. At a given moment, they receive a direct and complete revelation from God, touching some definite subject; and this revelation is independent of all human faculties,—it is supernatural. The modern spiritist receives a communication from the spirit of Washington; in like manner, the Quaker receives a message or command from the Spirit of God. Depending upon this supernatural instruction for guidance, it is essential to banish all "worldly thoughts;" to concentrate the mind, or, more accurately speaking, the soul, upon God, in order to get into spirit relations with him,—to get *en rapport* with him, and thus to invite communion.

The parallel to this theory of religion is frequently found in the history of heathen nations. The Hindu priests, by constant contemplation of their deities, sought to become divine. Asceticism is the inevitable result of such a practice. In the case of Friends, it has made them exclusive, indifferent to education, indifferent to the world about them: unity and harmony must be maintained, and the introduction of the great questions involved in the development of society must be discouraged, as tending to distract the soul, and to lead it away from the contemplation of the Creator. I shall not now dispute the reality of special or supernatural revelation; though I am compelled to say, that the sermons usually heard at a Quaker meeting, and claimed to be the expression of the Holy Spirit, the reflex of the "light within," are not calculated to overcome the incredulity of the sceptic.

A firm belief in spiritual communion, however, is of inestimable value to our spiritual nature; for, through it, the aspirations of the soul are satisfied. But we are human as well as spiritual beings; and our humanity protests against a religion which subdues and slights our human faculties, which refuses to recognize Mind or Reason, as a part of that kingdom of heaven we find within us. A broader and more intelligent interpretation, it appears to me, will divest the theory of the Inward Light of all supernaturalism, and will bring into harmony all the faculties of our dual nature. It will recognize the divine character of humanity, and teach us to revere every faculty God has given us, as a part of that light by which we must be guided. His law is written, not only on our hearts, but in every fibre of our being, and our lives are a perpetual revelation of it.

The spirit of progress recently developed within the Society is full of promise. The invaluable testimonies in favor of moderation in

living, and simplicity in dress and address, imply less singularity than heretofore, but still have their work to do, in checking the spirit of recklessness and extravagance which marks and mars the age. The protest against amusements has been materially modified, and the value of music and the fine arts is better appreciated. The liberal management of Swarthmore College, even more than the two or three hundred thousand dollars invested in it, attests the increasing importance attached to education. The desertion of the slave is being atoned for, so far as possible, by devotion to the freedman; and the nation already owes a debt of gratitude to Friends for their attempt to solve the Indian question.

The development of rationalism, as opposed to spiritism and superstition, is another encouraging evidence of vitality and progress. Quakerism, developed to its legitimate conclusion, leaves to its earlier professors the confusion of Calvinistic theology with the simpler faith in God as he is manifested in the individual soul. The logic of Quakerism establishes the Church universal, and demands a religion which embraces Jew, Pagan, and Christian, and which cannot be limited by the dogmas of one or the other.

APPENDIX.

Some of the laws of the Puritans and a Scriptural argument to justify them are given in the following pages: They can be found in vol. iv, Mass. Records.

Att a Generall Court held at Boston October 14th 1656.

Whereas there is a cursed sect of hæreticks lately risen vp in the world, wth are comonly called Quakers, who take vpon them to be immediately sent of God and infallibly asisted by the spirit to speake & write blasphemouth opinions, despising gouernment & the order of God in church & comonwealth, speaking evill of dignitjes, reproaching and revjling magistrates and ministers, seeking to turne the people from the faith, & gajne proseljtes to their pernicious wajes, this court, taking into serious consideration the pmises, and to prevent the like mischiefe as by their meanes is wrought in our native land, doth hereby order, and by the authoritje of this court be it ordered and enacted, that what master or comander of any ship, barke, pinnace, catch, or any other vessell that shall henceforth bring into any harbor, creeke, or coue wthin this iurisdiceon any knoune Quaker or Quakers, or any other blasphemous hæreticks, as aforesajd, shall pay, or cause to be pajd, the fine of one hundred pounds to the tresurer of the countrje, except it appeare that he wanted true knowledg or information of their being such; and in that case he hath libertje to cleare himself by his oath when sufficijnt prooffe to the contrary is wanting, and for default of payment, or good securitje for it, shall be comitted to prison, & there to contjneu till the sajd some be sattisfied to the tresurer as aforesajd; and the comander of any such ship or vessell

that shall bring them (being legally convicted) shall giue in sufficient securitje to the Gouerno^r, or any one or more of the magistrates who haue power to determine the same, to carry them backe to the place whence he brought them; and, on his refusall so to doe, the Gouerno^r, or one or more of the magistrates, are hereby impowered to issue out his or their warrants to comitt such master or comander to prison, there to continue till he shall give in sufficient securitje to the content of the Gouerno^r or any of the magistrates as aforesajd. And it is hereby further ordered & enacted, that what Quaker soeuer shall arive in this countrje from forraigne parts, or come into this jurisdiction from any parts adjacent, shall be forthwith committed to the house of correction, and at their entrance to be seuerely whipt, and by the master thereof to be kept constantly to worke, & none suffered to councurse or speak wth them during the tyme of their imprisonment, wth shall be no longer than necessitie requireth. And further, it is ordered, if any pson shall knowingly import into any harbor of this jurisdiction any Quakers' bookes or writings concerning their diuillish opinions, shall pay for every such booke or writting, being legally prooued against him or them, the some of five pounds; and whosoeuer shall disperse or conceale any such book or writing, and it be found wth him or her, or in his or her howse, and shall not immediately deliuer in the same to the next magistrate, shall forfeite and pay five pounds for the dispersing or concealing of every such booke or writing.

And it is hereby further enacted, that if any person wthin this colonje shall take vpon them to defend the haeretticall opinions of the sajd Quakers, or any of their bookes or papers as aforesajd, ex animo, if legally prooved, shall be fined for the first tyme forty shillings; if they shall persist in the same and shall so againe defend it, the second tyme fower pounds; if still, notwithstanding, they shall againe so defend & maintajne the sajd Quakers haeretticall opinions, they shall be committed to the howse of correction till there be convenient passage for them to be sent out of the land, being sentenced by the Court of Asistants to banishment. Lastly it is heereby ordered, that what pson or persons soeuer shall revile the office or pson of magistrates or ministers, as is usuall with the Quakers, such person or psons shall be seuerely whipt, or pay the some of five pounds. This order was published 21 : 8 m^o, 56, in seuerall places of Boston, by beate of drumme.

Att a Gennerall Court, held at Boston, 14 of October, 1657.

As an addition to y^e late order in reference to the coming or bringing in any of the cursed sect of the Quakers into this jurisdiction, it is ordered that whosoeuer shall from henceforth bring or cawse to be brought, directly or indirectly, any knoune Quaker or Quakers, or other blasphemous hæreticks, into this iurisdiceon, euery such person shall forfeite the some of one hundred pounds to y^e countrje, and shall by warrant from any magistrate be comitted to prison there to remajne till the pœnalty be sattisfjed and paid; and if any person or persons wthin this iurisdiceon shall henceforth entertajne and conceale any such Quaker or Quakers or other blasphemous hæreticks, (knowing them so to be) euery such person shall forfeite to the countrye forty shillings for euery howers entertajnement and concealement of any Quaker or Quakers as aforesajd, and shall be comitted to prison, as aforesajd, till the forfeitures be fully sattisfied and paid.

And it is further ordered, that if any Quaker or Quakers shall presume, after they haue once suffered what the lawe requireth, to come into this iurisdiceon, euery such male Quaker shall for the first offence haue one of his eares cutt off, and be kept at worke in the howse of correction till he cann be sent away at his oune charge, and for the second offence shall haue his other eare cutt off, &c. and kept at the howse of correction, as aforesaid; and euery woman Quaker that hath suffered the lawe heere that shall presume to come into this iurisdiceon shall be severely whipt, and kept at the howse of correction at worke till she be sent away at hir oune charge, and so also for hir coming againe she shall be alike vsed as aforesaid; and for euery Quaker, he or she, that shall a third tyme heerein againe offend, they shall haue theire toungues bored through wth a hot iron, & kept at the howse of correction, close to worke, till they be sent away at theire oune charge. And it is further ordered, that all & euery Quaker arising from amongst ourselves shall be dealt wth & suffer the like punishment as the lawe provides against forreigne Quakers.

At a Gennerall Courte held at Boston, the 19th of May 1658.

That Quakers and such accursed hæretiques arising amongst ourselves may be dealt withall according to theire deserts, and that theire pestilent errors and practizes may speedily be prevented, itt is heereby ordered, as an addition to the former lawe against Quakers, that

euery such person or persons professing any of their pernicious wajes, by speaking, writting, or by meetings on the Lords day, or any other tyme, to strengthen themselves or seduce others to their djabolljeall doctrine, shall, after due meanes of conviction incurre the pœnalty ensuing; that is, euery person so meeting shall pay to the countrje for euery tyme tenn shillings, and euery one speaking in such meetings shall pay five pounds a peece, and in case any such person hath binn punished by scourging or whipping the first tyme, according to the former lawes, shall be still kept at worke in the house of correction till they put in securitje wth two suffieient men that they shall not any more vent their hatefull errors, nor vse their sinfull practizes, or els shall depart this jurisdiction at their oune charges; and if any of them retorne againe, then each such person shall incurre the pœnalty of the lawes formerly made for straingers.

Att the second Sessions of the Generall Court, held at Boston, the 19th of October 1658.

Whereas there is a pernicious sect, comonly called Quakers, lately risen, who, by word & writing, haue published & maintayned many dajngerous & horrid tennetts, and doe take vpon them to chainge and alter the received laudable customes of our nation in giving ciuill respect to æqualls or reuerence to superiors, whose actions tend to vndermine the authority of ciuill gouernment, as also to destroy the order of the churches, by denying all established formes of worship, and by wthdrawing from the orderly church assembljes allowed & approved, by all orthodox proffessors of the truth, and instead thereof, and in opposition thereunto, frequenting private meetings of their oune, insinuating themselves into the minds of the simpler, or such as are lesse affected to the order & gouernment in church and comonwealth, whereby diuerse of our inhabitants haue binn infected & seduced, and notwthstanding all former lawes made (vpon experience of their arrogant, bold obtrusions to disseminate their principles amongst vs) prohibiting their coming into this jurisdiction, they haue not binn deterred from their impetuous attempts to vndermine our peace and hasten our ruine.

For prevention whereof, this Court doth order and enact, that euery person or persons of the cursed sect of the Quakers, who is not an inhabitant off but found wthin this jurisdiction, shall be apprehended,

(without warrant,) where no magistrate is at hand, by any connstable, comissioner, or selectman, and conveyed from connstable to connstable, vntill they come before the next magistrate, who shall comitt the sajd person or persons to close prison, there to remajne with out bayle vntill the next Court of Asistants, where they shall haue a legall trjall by a speciall jury, & being convicted to be of the sect of the Quakers shall be sentenced to banneshment, vpon payne of death; and that euery inhabitant of this jurisdiction being convicted to be of the aforesajd sect, either by taking vp, publishing, & defending the horrid opinions of the Quakers, or by stirring vp mutiny, sedition, or rebelljon against the government, or by taking vp their absurd and destructive practises, viz^t, denying civil respect & reuerence to equalls & superiors, wth drawing from our church assemblies, & instead thereof frequenting private meetings of their oune in opposition to church order, or by adhering to or approoving of any knoue Quaker, or the tenetts & practises of the Quakers, that are opposite to the orthodoxe received opinions & practises of the godly, and endeavoring to disaffect others to ciuill gouernment, & church order, and condemning the practise & proceedings of this court against the Quakers, manifesting thereby their compljance wth those whose designe it is to ouerthrow the order established in church and comonwealth, euery such person, vpon examination & legall conviction before the Court of Asistants, in manner as aboue sajd, shall be committed to close prison for one moneth, and then, vnless they choose voluntarily to depart the jurisdiction, shall giue bond for their good abbearence & appearance at the next Court of Asistants, where continuing obstinate and refusing to retract & reforme the aforesajd opinions and practises, shall be sentenced to bannishment vpon payne of death; and in case of the aforesajd voluntary departure, not to remajne or againe retourne into this jurisdiction wthout the allowance of the major part of the councill first had & published on pœnalty of being banished vpon payne of death; and any one magistrate, vpon information giuen him of any such person, shall cause them to be apphended, and if, vpon examination of the case, he shall, according to his best discretion, finde just ground for such complainte, he shall comitt such person to prison vntill he come to his trjall, as is aboue expressed.

Att a Generall Court of Election, held at Boston, 11th of May, 1659.

County Treasurer authorized to sell Quakers.

Whereas Daniell and Provided Southwicke sonne & daughter to Lawrence Southwicke, haue binn fyned by the County Courts at Salem & Ipswich, ptending they haue no estates, resolving not to worke, and others likewise haue binn fyned, & more like to be fyned, for siding wth the Quakers & absenting themselves from the publicke ordinances—in ans^r to a quæstion, what course shall be taken for the sattisfaction of the fines, the Court, on perversall of the lawe, title Arrests, resolve, that the Tresurers of the senerall countjes are and shall hereby be impowred to sell the sajd persons to any of the English nation at Virginia or Barbadoes.

Att a Generall Court of Election, held at Boston, 22d May 1661.

This Court, being desirous to try all meanes, wth as much lenity as may consist wth our safety, to prevent the intrusions of the Quakers, who, besides theire absurd & blasphemous doctrine, doe, like rouges & vagabonds, come in vpon vs, & haue not been restrained by the lawes already provided, haue ordered, that euery such vagabond Quaker found wthin any part of this jurisdiction shall be apprehended by any person or persons, or by the connstable of the toune wherein he or she is taken, & by the connstable, or, in his absence, by any other person or persons, conveyed before the next magistrate of that sheire wherein they are taken, or comissioner invested wth magistraticall power, & being by the sajd magistrate or magistrates, comissioner or comissioners, adjudged to be a wandering Quaker, viz^t, one that hath not any dwelling or orderly allowance as an inhabitant of this jurisdiction, & not giving ciuil respect by the vsuall gestures thereof, or by any other way or meanes manifesting himself to be a Quaker, shall, by warrant vnder the hand of the sajd magistrate or magistrates, comissioner or comissioners, directed to the connstable of the toune wherein he or she is taken, or in absence of the connstable, or any othere meete person, be stripped naked from the midle vpwards, and tjd to a carts tayle, & whipped thro^h the toune, & from thence immediately conveyed to the connstable of the next toune, towards the borders of our jurisdiction, as theire warrant shall direct & so from connstable to connstable till they be conveyed thro^h any the outward most tounes

of our jurisdiction. And if such vagabond Quaker shall returne againe, then to be in like manner app'hended & conveyed as often as they shall be found wthin the limitts of our jurisdiction, provided euery such wandering Quaker, hauing beene thrice convicted & sent away as abouesajd, & returning again into this jurisdiction, shall be app'hended & comitted by any magistrate or comissioner as abouesajd vnto the house of correction wthin that county wherein he or shee is found untill the next Court of that County, where, if the Court judge not meete to release them, they shall be branded with the letter R on theire left shoulder, & be severely whipt & sent away in manner as before; and if after this he or shee shall retourne againe, then to be proceeded against as incorrigible rogues & ennemys to the comon peace and shall imediately be app'hended & comitted to the comon jayle of the country, and at the next Court of Asistants shall be brought to theire tryall, & proceeded ag^t according to the lawe made anno 1658, page 36, for theire bannishment on payne of death. And for such Quakers as shall arise from amongst ourselves, they shall be proceeded ag^t as the former lawe of anno 1658, page 36, doth provide, vntill they haue beene convicted by a Court of Asistants; & being so convicted, he or shee shall then be bannished this jurisdiction; & if after that they shall be found in any part of this jurisdiction, then he or shee so sentenced to banishment shall be proceeded against as those that are straingers & vagabond Quakers in manner as is aboue expressed. And it is further ordered, that whatsoeuer charge shall arise about app'hending, whipping, conveying, or otherwise, about the Quakers, to be layd out by the connstables of such townes where it is expended, & to be repajd by the Tresurer out of the next country levy; and further, that the connstables of the seuerall townes are hereby empowred from tyme to tyme, as necessity shall require, to im- presse cart, oxen, & other asistance for the execution of this order.

The following Scriptural argument, "To vindicate the justice of this Courts proceedings in reference to the Quakers," was circulated throughout the Mass. Colony, by order of the "Generall Court" Oct. 18th 1659:

Many of that sect of people which are comonly called Quakers hauing, from forreine parts & from other colonjes, come at soundry times and in seuerall companjes & noumbers into this jurisdiction of the Massachusetts, & those lesser punishments of the house of correc-

tions & imprisonment for a tyme hauing beene inflicted on some of them, but not sufficing to deterr & keepe them away, but that still they haue presumed to come hither, vpon no other ground or occasion (for ought that could appeare) but to scatter their corrupt opinions, & to draw others to their way, & so to make disturbance, and the honored Generall Court having herevpon made an order & lawe, that such persons should be bannished & remooved hence, on paine of death, to be inflicted on such of them, as after their bannishment should presume to returne & come hither againe, the making & execution of the aforesajd lawe may be cleered to be warrantable & just vpon such grounds & considerations as these, viz.:

1. The doctrine of this sect of people is destructive to fundamentall trueths of religion, as the sacred Trinitie, the person of Christ & the holy Scriptures, as a perfect rule of faith & life, as M^r Norton hath shewed in his tractate against the Quakers; yea, that one opinion of theirs, of being perfectly pure and w^hout sinne, tends to ouerthrow the whole gospell & the very vitalls of Christianitie, for they that haue no sinne, haue no neede of Christ, or of his satisfaction, or his blood to cleanse them from their sinne; no need of faith to beleive in Christ, for imputed righteousness to justify them, as being perfectly just in themselves; no neede of repentance, as being righteous & w^hout sinne, for repentance is only for such as haue sinne; no neede of growing in grace, nor of the word and ordinances of God, that they may grow thereby, for what neede they to grow better who are already perfect? no neede of Christian watchfulness against sinne who haue no such enemy as sinne dwelling in them, as Paul had, but are free from the presence and being of sinne, & therefore Christ needs not to say to them, as sometymes to his disciples, 'Watch & pray, that yee enter not into temptation; the spirit is willing but the flesh is weake'; for hauing no such flesh or weaknesse in them, they haue no such neede of watchfulness; they haue no neede to purify themselves dayly, as all Christians should, for they are perfectly pure already; no neede to put off the old man and put on the new, like the Christians to whom Paul wrote his Epistles, for what neede they to doe this when they are already w^hout sinne, and so w^hout all remainders of the old man? Such fundamentalls of Christianitie are ouerthrowne by this one opinion of theirs, & how much more by all their other doctrines! Now, the comandment of God is plaine, that he that presumes to speake lyes in the name of the Lord & turne

people out of the way which the Lord hath comanded to walk in, such an one must not liue, but be put to death, Zach. 13: 3; Deut. 13: 6; & 18: 20; & if the doctrine of the Quakers be not such, let the wise judge. It is the comandment of the blessed God, that Christians should obey magistrates, Tit. 3: 1; & that euery soule should be subject to the higher powers, Rom. 13: 1; yea, be subject to euery ordinance of man for the Lords sake, 1 Peet. 2: 13; & yeeld honnor & reuerence or feare to such as are in authoritje, Prou. 24: 21; 1 Pet. 2: 17; & forbear all cursing and reviling & evill speeches touching such persons, Exod. 22: 28; Ecclesiast. 10: 20; Tit. 3: 2; Acts 23: 5; & accordingly good men haue beene wont to behaue themselves wth gestures and speeches of reuerence and honnor towards superiors in place and power, as Abraham bowed downe himself to the Hittites, Gene. 23: 7, 12; Jacob & his wives & children unto Esau, Gene. 33: 3, 6, 7; Josephs brethren vnto Joseph, being governor in Ægypt, Genes. 42: 6; & 43: 26 & 28; Joseph to his father Jacob, Gene. 48: 12; Moses to his father in lawe Jethro, Exod. 18: 7; Ruth to Boaz, Ruth 2: 10; Daud to Saul, 1 Sam. 24: 6; 1 Kings 1: 16, 23, 31; wth others that might be added. And for reviling or contemptuous speeches, they haue binn so farre therefrom that they haue spoken to and of their superiors wth termes & expressions of much honor & reuerence, as father, 1 Sam. 19: 3; 1 Kings 19: 20; & 2: 2, 12; master, 2 Kings 6: 15; 1 Sam. 24: 6; lord, Gen. 33: 13, 14; 1 Pet. 3: 6; my lord, 1 Sam. 24: 8; Gen. 44: 18, 19, 20; 1 Sam. 1: 15, 26; most noble Festus, Acts 26: 25; most excellent Theophilus, Luke 1: 3; and the like; that servant of Abraham's, Gen. 24, doth call Abraham by the terme & title of master, a matter of twenty times or not much lesse, in that one chapter; and on the contrary, it is noted as a brand & reproach of false teachers, that they despise dominion and are not afraid to speake evill of dignitjes, 2 Pet. 2: 10; Jude 8; though the very aingells would not doe so vnto the diuill, 2 Peet. 2: 11; Jude 9. Now, it is well knoune that the practize of the Quakers is but too like these false teachers whom the apostles speake of, & that they are farre from giving that honnor & reuerence to magistrates which the Lord requireth, & good men haue giuen to them, but on the contrary show contempt against them in their very outward gestures & behavior, & (some of them at least) spare not to belch out railing & cursing speeches. wittnes that odjous, cursing letter of Humphrey Norton; and if so, if Abishaj may be judge, they are worthy to die; for

so he thought of Shimej for his contemptuous carriage and cursing speeches against David, 2 Sam. 16: 9; & 19: 21; and though David at that tyme did forbear to put him to death, yet he giues charge to Solomon, that this Shimej hauing cursed him wth such a greivous curse, he should not hold him guiltlesse, but bring doune his hoarje head to the graue wth blood, 1 Kings 2: 8, 9; according to which direction King Solomon caused him to be put to death, Vers. 44, 46.

Also, in this story of Solomon & Shimej, 1 Kings 2, it is recorded how Solomon confined Shimei to Jerusalem, chardging him vpon paine of death, not to goe out thence, & telling him that if he did he should dye for it, which confinement when Shimej had broken, though it were three years after & vpon an occasion that might seeme to haue some weight in it, viz., to fetch againe his servants that were runne away from him, yett for all this, the confinement being broken, Solomon would not spare him, but putts him to death, and if execution of death be lawfull for breach of confinement, may not the same be said for breach of bannishment? Confinement, of the two, may seeme to be much sleighter, because in this a man is lymited to one place & debarred from all others, whereas in bannishment a man is debarred from no place but one, all others being left to his liberty; the one debarres him from all places, saue that it giues liberty to one; the other giues liberty to all places, saue that it restraines from one; and therefore if death may be justly inflicted vpon breach of confinement, much more for returne vpon bannishment, which is these Quakers case.

There is no man that is possessed of house or land, wherein he hath just title & propriety as his oune, but he would count it vnreasonably injurious that another who had no authoritje thereto should intrude & enter into his house wthout his, the ouno^r consent; yea, and when the ouno^r doth expressly prohibitt & forbidd the same. Wee say, when the man that so presumes to enter hath no authoritje thereto; for if it were a connstable or other officer legally authorized, such an one might indeed enter, notwthstanding the householders dissent or charge to the contrary; but for them that haue no authoritje the case is otherwise. And if such one should presume to enter into another man's house & habitation, he might justly be impleaded as a theife or an vsurper; & if in case of such violent assault, the ouno^r should, *se defendendo*, slay the assaylant & intruder, his blood would be vpon his oune head. And if private person may in case shed the blood of such intruders, may not the like be graunted to them that are the pub-

licke keepers and guardians of the comonwealth? Haue not they as much power to take away the liues of such, as contrary to prohibition, shall invade & intrude into their publicke possessions or territorjes as private and particullar persons to deale so wth them that, wthout authorije, shall presume to enter into their private & particullar habitations? which seemes clearly to be the present case; for who cann beleue that Quakers are connstables ouer this colonje, to intrude themselves, invade, & enter, whither the colonje will or no, yea, & notwithstanding their expresse prohibition to the contrary? If in such violent and bold attempt they loose their liues, they may thank themselves as the blameable cause & autho^r of their owne death.

Who cann make question but that a man that hath children & family both justly may, & in duty ought to, preserve them of his charge (as farre as he is able) from the daingerous company of persons infected wth the plague of pestilence or other contagious, noysome, and mortall diseases? and if such persons shall offer to intrude into the mans house amongst his children & servants, notwithstanding his prohibition and warning to the contrary, & thereby shall jndainger the healthe & liues of them of the familje, cann any man doubt but that in such case the father of the familje, in defence of himself & his, may wthstand the intrusion of such infected & daingerous persons & if otherwise he cann not keepe them out, may kill them? Now, in Scripture, corruption in minde & judgment is counted a great infection & defilement, yea, & one of the greatest; for the apostle, saying of some men that to them there is nothing pure, giues this as the reason of it, because euen their minde & conscience is defiled, Tit. 1: 15; as if defilement of the minde did argue the defilement of all, & that in such case there is nothing pure; euen as when leprosie was in the head, the preist must pronounce such a man vtterly vnclane, sith the plague was in his head, Levitt 13: 44. And it is the Lords comand that such corrupt persons be not receaved into house, 2 John 10, which plainly enough impljes that the householder hath power to keepe them out, & y^t it was not in their power to come in if they pleased, whither the householder would or no. And if the father of a particullar family may thus defend his children & household, may not magistrates doe the like for their subjects, they being nursing fathers and nursing mothers by the account of God in Holy Scripture? Isaj. 49: 23d. Is it not cleare, y^t if the father in the family must keepe them out off his house, the father in the comonwealth must

keepe them out of his jurisdiction ? And if sheepe & lambes cannot be preserved from the dainger of woolves, but the woolves will breake in amongst them, it is easy to see what the shephard or keeper of the sheepe may lawfully doe in such a case.

Itt was the comandment of the Lord Jesus Christ vnto his disciples, that when they were persecuted in one citty, they should flee into another, Math. 10: 23; & accordingly it was his oune practise so to doe many a tyme, both when he was a child, Math. 13: 14; & afterwards, 12: 15; Job 7: 1 & 8; last, 10: 39; and so was also the practise of the saints.

wittnes what is written of Jacob, Gen. 27: 42, 43 & 28: 5; of Moses, Exod. 2: 14, 15; of Eljas, 1 King 19: 3; of Paul, Acts 9: 24, 25, 29, 30, & 17: 13, 14; & of the apostle, Acts 14: 4, 5, & others, who when they haue beene persecuted, haue fled away for their oune safety; and reason requires that when men haue liberty vnto it, they should not refuse so to doe, because otherwise they will be guilty of tempting God, & of incurring their oune hurt, as having a faire way open for the avoyding thereof, but they needelessly expose themselves thereto. If therefore, that which is donne against Quakers in this jurisdiction were indeed persecution, as they account of it, (though in trueth it is not so, but the due ministration of justice; but suppose it were as they thinke it to be) what spirit may they be thought to be acted & led by, who are in their actings so contrary to the comandment & example of Christ & of his saints in the case of persecusion, which these men suppose to be their case? Plaine enough it is, that if their case were the same, their actings are not the same, but quite contrary, so that Christ and his saints were led by one spirit, and those people by another; for rather then they would not show their contempt of authoritje, and make disturbance amongst his people, they choose to goe contrary to the express directions of Jesus Christ, & the aprooved examples of his saints, although it be to the hazard & perrill of their oune liues.

THE END.

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